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## CONGRESSIONAL.

## SPEECH OF MR. BRODHEAD. OF PENNSYLVANIA.

In the House of Representatives, June 25, 1846—
On the bill reducing the duties on imports and for other purposes.

The tariff bill being under consideration in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—Mr. Coss, of Georgia, in the chair—
Mr. BRODHEAD obtained the floor, and commenced by observing that the House would bear him witness that since he had been a member he had constantly sought to render himself useful as a working man, rather than conspicuous in the way of speech-making. Political discussions, personal controversies and explanations, and disputes about points of order, (he said,) were generally unprofitable to the members and the country, and uninteresting to those who read our proceedings. As he had studiously avoided all these, he claimed the indulgence of the committee with some confidence, for the reasons which would appear during the course of his remarks, while he expressed some of the reasons which would influence his course upon the great subject now under consideration.

Two measures (said Mr. B) having reference to the revenue and protective policy of the government are now under consideration—the act of the 30th of August, 1842, and the bill now upon the table reported by a majority of the Committee of Ways and Means, and intended as a substitute for it. The old law, the evils, and the remedy, are subjects for deliberation and debate. The power of legislation is said to be the most important trust which man can confide to his fellow-man. In execution of this trust, I am called upon to choose between these two measures, neither of which, in all their details, is pleasing to me. It is, therefore, a choice of evils; but of this I do not complain, for the lives of the best of us are apent in choosing between evils. It is the way we are obliged to get along in legislation, and it is the way we get through this rugged and perverse world.

the way we are obliged to get along in legislation, and it is the way we get through this rugged and perverse world.

The honorable gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. Owex.] in his speech a few days ago, announced himself in favor of compromise and conciliation, and invoked us to meet him and the other advocates of the hill of the Committee of Ways and Means in that spirit. Sir, I most cerdially accept his invitation, and ask him, if he is governed by that spirit, why it is that he desires to change and upturn the entire revenue policy of this government in one act? why it is that he seeks to repeal, from the beginning to the end, the act of 1842, which was itself one of compromise? That it was formed by a yielding of interests and a secrifice of party feeling, cannot be denied, and hence it has merits, at any rate, in my estimation, for I am a compromiser (except where honor and principle are concerned) as well in matters which relate to myself as those which pertain to governmental affairs. It was in this way that our constitution was formed—that great charter of our liberties, under which the people of the country have grown and prospered beyond precedent in the annuals of nations. Let any man look at the history of its formation and adoption, and he will find that political animostics, local interests, private grievances, state consequence, favorite systems—in fine, all the most powerful and obstinate passions of the human heart were all ascrificed as the price of its purchase. The "old thirteen" became a nation by a compromise of conflicting interests. In a country of such vast extent, of such diversified climate, its purchase. The "old thirteen" became a nation by a compromise of conflicting interests. In a country of such was extent, of such diversified climate, productions, interests, and pursuits, no revenue is we can be framed except in the most liberal spirit of compromise; for, in adopting laws for the good of the whole, some little injury must of necessity be done to the parts. President Polk said, in his inaugural address on the 4th of March, 1845: "It is a subject upon which conflicting interests of sections and occupations are supposed to exist; and a spirit of mutual concession and compromise in adjusting its details should be cherished by every part of our widespread country, as the only means of preserving haractaits should be cherished by every part of our whatspread country, as the only means of preserving harmony and a cheerful acquiescence of all in the operations of the revenue laws." In this sentiment I
most cheerfully concur. But though the extent of
our country and its diversified interests may resider
general revenue laws difficult of adjustment and execution, yet, thanks to the wise framers of the constitution, a vast internal and coasting trade in allow. ecution, yet, thanks to the wise framers of the constitution, a vast internal and constitution are value, with which, in amount and value, our foreign commerce is not to be compared. This is the kind of free trade—Imerican free trade—I advocate, and wish to extend, between a people whose habits, government, and currency are similar. It seems to be very much overlooked and undervalued lately, but that should not excite wonder, for the good we seldom miss we rarely prize. Our foreign commerce is but a drop in the bucket when compared with the value of our internal free trade. The productions of the industry of my own native State far exceed in value our entire foreign commerce. The trade upon the main

line of the Pennsylvania State improvements will shortly exceed it. The trade upon our lakes, to say nothing of the Mississippi and its branches, now exceeds it. The Secretary of War, in his report.

says: "With the settlement and growth of the western country, the commerce upon these inland set (the lakes) has rapidly increased, and its estimate

(the lakes) has rapidly increased, and its estimated annual amount now exceeds, in value, the entire exports of the products and manufactures of the United States to all foreign countries." But to return from this little digression, in which I have indulged for the purpose of showing the value of our home markets, end that our internal affairs and domestic industry should not be overlooked. I have said that the act of 1842 was one of compromise, and, as I always like to follow an assertion with the evidence of its correctness, now presceed with the proofs.

In 1842 the duties under Mr. Clay's compromise act of 1833 came down to 20 per cent. ad valorem upon all articles, without reference to their nature or kind—upon the luxuries as well as the necessaries of life. The whole amount of revenue produced was less than seventeen millions. The sum required to pay the expenses of the governfrom his litte digression, in which Player indulated moved, and death of the expension of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the secretary of the Transaction of the overlands of the transacti

## Daily Anion.

" LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION."

WASHINGTON CITY, THURSDAY NIGHT, JULY 16, 1846.

who passed it, and, therefore, it ought to be repealed.

The fact that it passed by but one vote is no reasonable.

The fact that it passed by but one vote is no reasonable in the case of the view of o

issued, and coans were resorted to. Ye occare borrowers of the brokers in New York and London, to carry on the government. Under this act, and the proceeds of the land sales, we have obtained revenue enough not only to pay the expenses of the government, but to pay off a considerable portion of the public debt, which, on the lat of October last, amounted to \$17,075,445 52. During the last fiscal year, the President informs us, in his message, that over eight millions of the public debt was paid; and he adds, "further payments of the public debt would have been made, in satisfipation of the period of its reimbursement, under the authority conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury by the acts of July 21, 1841, April 15, 1842, and March 3, 1843, had not the unsettled state of our relations with Mexico menaced hostile collision with that power." The Secretary of the Treasury informs us, in his report, that the receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year, ending the 30th of June, 1845, stood as follows:

VOLUME II.

RECEIPTS AND MEANS. From customs . From sales of public lands 2,077,022 163,998 Total receipts
Add balance in the treasury 1st July, 1844 Total means
The expenditures during the same fiscal year
amounted to the sum of

This certainly exhibits a prosperous condition of the treasury. And, sir, this balance has continued to increase; and we were lately informed that we had over twelve millions in the treasury, to begi and carry on the war with Mexico, in order to obtain indemnity for the past and security for the future. Sir, suppose this money had not been in the treasury, and we had been obliged to raise the ten millions by direct taxation: Pennsylvania, already taxed to the ultimatum of financial device, would have been obliged to nave over one million would have been obliged to pay over one million hereof; and how would Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, whose representatives are so loud in their denunciations of the present tariff, have paid their

But, Mr. Chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury argues, in his report, that the present duties on many articles are prohibitory, and hence there will shortly be a deficiency of revenue. Sir, this is not a new position; and it is as incorrect and untenable now as it was two years ago, when taken by the honorable gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. McKar.] And here permit me, although a little out of the lins of my argument, to consider this point. Why is it that the gentleman from North Carolina, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, did not submit a report with his bill, now under consideration, in conformity with the uniform practice of the House, showing the reasons in detail, why the bill should be passed, and placing them on record to guide the future action of Conin detail, why the bill should be passed, and placing them on record to guide the future action of Congress? A bill granting an old soldier a pension, regularly reported by a standing committee of this House, would not be considered for a moment without a written report; and the gendeman from North Carolina would be the first to call for the reading of the report, and object to the passage if it was not forthcoming. Yet we are gravely asked to pass a bill changing a revenue policy which is coeval with and has been acted upon since the organization of the government, without having any ed to pass a pill changing a revenue policy which is coval with and has been acted upon since the organization of the government, without having any reasons upon the record. This great Committee of Ways and Means, with the experienced gentleman from North Carolina at its head, has had this subject under consideration for four months, aided by the Secretary of the Treasury, and this bill is the result; a poor bald concern, without reason to sustain it, or a leg to stand upon. But there is a reason for not accompanying the bill with a report; because a report, to sustain it, must of necessity cut the throat of a report made by the same gentleman two years ago. Two years ago we were asked to modify and change the present rates of duties, in order to obtain more revenue. It was then gravely argued that the precent tariff of duties was too high to produce sufficient revenue. The gentleman from North Carolina, in his report then, estimated the deficiency to meet the current expenses for the fiscal year 1844 and 1845, at two millions. He says:

agitation of this question. I do not desire to recognise a size of "war" or "hostilities" upon this subject.

But this act of 1842 is assailed upon many grounds, and I admit that it is objectionable in some of its details. These details I would be willing to its details. These details I would be willing to the system. It is denied by the Secretary of the Treasman. It is denied by the Secretary of the Treasman. It is denied by the Secretary of the Treasman. It is denied by the Secretary of the Treasman. It is denied by the Secretary of the Treasman. It is denied by the Secretary of the Treasman and the subject of the Treasman and the thing the subject of the Treasman and the subject of the Treasman and the subject of the Treasman and the thing the subject of the Treasman and the time of the subject of the Treasman and the time of the doption of the constitutions and provisions, I affirm that of upon well-known principles of national law, well understood at the time of the adoption of the constitution, each nation the subject of the proposition to the subject of the proposition and the subject of the proposition and the subject of the Treasman and the time of the subject of the Treasman and the time of the subject of the Treasman and the time of the subject of the Treasman and the time of the subject of the Treasman and the time of the subject of the Treasman and the time of the treasman and th

It never could have been the intention of the framers of the constitution to repeal this rule of international law. It is founded in reason, and sanctuned by the experience of ages.

The want of a power to "regulate trade" with foreign nations and among the States was one of the principal defects in the articles of confederation, and was one of the main reasons for adopting the present constitution. Each State regulated its own commerce, and different rates of duty were imposed in different ports. A moment's reflection will show to what confusion and irritation the exercise of that kind of State sovereignty would lead. In 1785, two years prior to the assembling of the convention which framed our present constitution, the general assembly of Pennsylvania passed an "act to encourage and protect the manufactures of this State." In ratifying the present constitution, the general assembly of Pennsylvania passed an "act to encourage and protect the manufactures of this State." In ratifying the present constitution, Pennsylvania surrendered the power, but not the will, to protect herown industry. The power was confided for the general good to the Congress of the land of the convention of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congress of the land of the general good to the Congre

Pennsylvania surrendered the power, but not the will, to protect her own industry. The power was confided for the general good to the Congress of the United States, as I will now proceed to show. I do not, Mr. Chairman, belong to the "general welfare" and latitudinarian school of constructionists. To do so would be to contend that Congress was as compotent as the British Parlament, and could control and override State sovereignty, characterish and carry on internal improvements. carrying into effect a power expressly granted. The rule of construction is properly stated by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of McCullough, 4 Wheaton's Reports, page 316:

"If the end be logitimate, and within the scope of the constitution, all the means which are appropriate, which as plainly adapted to that end, and which are not prohibite may constitutionally be employed to carry it into effect."

All the means, therefore, to "regulate commerce," for the benefit of the people, are given to Congress. The power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, is expressly conferred upon Congress or outers on imports or exports," &c. The States having thus deprived themselves of control over the commerce of the country, expressly in the following specific grant conferred it upon Congress: "The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with oreign nations, and among the several States, and with he Indicate with: "

he Indian tribis."

Now what is the signification of the word "regutie," and what is the common as well as the techical meaning of the word "commerce," and in
what sense did the framers of the constitution inend they should be understood? Nonh Webster,
in his dictionary, says that "regulate" means "to
djust by rule, method, or established mode; as to

iven to the federal government. By necessary im-lication, I mean the power proper to be exercised in arrying into effect a power expressly granted. The sule of construction is properly stated by the Su-lessons upon the subject of our constitutional obli-

reneral principles upon which the doctrine for which contend is based. The foundation of the system y the 8th section of the hirst article, with one limitation—and that is, that "all duties, imposts, and exises shall be uniform throughout the United States," in the 10th section of the same article deprives the States of the power. It says, "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts, reducing on imports or exports," &c. The States of the power of exports, and the state of the power of course the state of the power of

Randolph to strike out the minimums on cotton goods, very justly remarked:

"It (the protective policy) produced an interest strictly American, as much so as agriculture, in which it had the decided advantage of commerce or navigation. The country will from this [American feeling] derive much advantage. Again: it is calculated to bind together much advantage. Again: it is calculated to bind together much advantage. Again: at the control of the product of the product

These are sound statesman-like views, to which I

To these sentiments I never heard any objections upon the part of my constituents; and they did me the honor to return me to this Congress by a larger democratic majority than that given to any member now upon this floor. I do not say that it was on account of my tariff opinions alone that caused them to do so; it may have been a generous confidence, which it shall always be my duty and pleasure to deserve, for next to the approbation of my own conscience, I prize the good will and approbation of my constituents. All that I have been, all that I amy politically, or in the way of official station, I owe to their generous confidence and steady support. I know, sir, that my tariff notions may not accord with those expressed by gendenen upon this floor and elsewhere who claim to be democratic leaders, but as I obtained this place by no unworthy means, I would scorn to hold it by the sacrifice of that independence of thought and action which should ever it shall be enly graingerous ground confidence and labored the pendence of thought and action which should ever it is their when the contract of the pendence of thought and action which should ever it shall be enly graingerous ground and action which should ever it shall be the first partaker of the fruit." But, sir, that the husbandman that laboreth shall be the first partaker of the fruit. But, sir, that the husbandman that laboreth shall be the first partaker of the fruit. But, sir, the laboration of my own constituents. All that I have been, all that I americant and the proposal and the proposal account to the same and the proposal account to hold it by the sacrifice of that independence of thought and action which should ever it shall be enly grainger ourselves."

usuic land sales among the States, because it or could lead to heart-burnings among our southern rethren, who think it unconstitutional, and with much show of reason; and besides, it might lead to make the former, charged when man is sufficient previously to take off the cheaper of the northern porta." much show of reason; and besides, it might lead to the necessity of imposing duties upon articles of the necessity, which we do not produce in this country. The next position which he advances is one from which I entirely dissent. It is one which is in violation of the revenue policy of this government from its organization to the present day, and which, if carried out, will produce a complete revolution in the business of this country. I undertake to say here, in my place, that if a direct tax of \$500,000 was annually imposed upon the people of Pennaylvania for the purposes of the general government, it would not be so much or so injuriously felt as to have the doctrine laid down by Mr. Walker acted upon. He says that it is revenue alone which we

and the deficiency of supply in the Eng lish market:

"But the supply must not be expected from America; and the contrine laid down by Mr. Walker acted upon. He says that it is revenue alone which we are to look to in the imposition of duties; that specific duties should be abandoned; and that no discrimination for protection hould be allowed. Al' idea of protection to sny or all classes of our people by means of commercial regulations is to be abandoned, it makes no difference what foreign restrictions are imposed upon us; and the same duty must be imposed upon articles of luxury, such as wines and like, as are imposed upon hats, clothing, or shoes, it is revenue alone which is to be looked to, even lough our markets are to be given to foreign and that only from necessity.

be protected from an excessive importation when the foreign article is very cheap. No commercial nation has ever yet adopted an entire system of ad valorem duties. But I have not time to go into detail. The British government, which is governed by interest and policy alone, knows very well what will be the effect of Mr. Walker's opinions, if Congress should adopt them; and hence it was that Parliament ordered his report to be published. Great Britain, having been deprived of a market in the German states by the German league, or Zoil-Verein, turns, with anxio is solicitude, to this country, and asks to be permitted, in the language of Lord John Russell, in his late Oregon speech, to "clothe the American people." Sir, the people whom I have the honor to represent have a little too much John Russell, in his late Oregon speech, to "clothe is national independence. Its object is to give employment, strength, and happiness to our own people, which cannot be effected in war or peace, through fraud or design. Americans ought to feel and to know that they have government, country, and destiny of their own. If we would be free, sow, and destiny of their own. If we would be free, sow, and destiny of their own. If we would be free, sow, and destiny of their own. pose countervaining duties on British goods, and this protect their own manufactures; and it is, therefore, no wonder that markets are sought in America. What other statesman in this country has ever been honored by having his reports or speeches ordered to be printed by the Parliament representing the great robber nation, which has always looked upon the rising greatness and increasing commerce of this country with a jealous eye? Has the British Parliament ever been so much pleased with our declaration of independence, the constitution of the United States, the farewell address of Washington or Jackson or the Texas letter of Mr. Walker him. United States, the farewell address of Washington or Jackson, or the Texas letter of Mr. Walker himself, as to order them to be republished, and thereby give the doctrines which they contain its sanction? But, air, this is not the only notice which is taken of our secretary's report. Sir Robert Peel, now at the head of the British government, in his great speech on the corn bill, in the House of Commons, on the 26th of January, 1846, after speaking in the highest strong of the report, says: "I see some special content then to be republished, and thereby expetited expetitions which they common it as sanction and that and the service which they contain it is asserted in the service which they contain it is asserted in the service which they contain it is asserted in the service of the British government, in his gradient of the Commons on the 25th of January, 1847, after a peaking in the service of the American Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. which is an adversarie to the principles of the American Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. which is a service of the Common of the Commons of the American Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. which is a service of the Common of the Commons of the American Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. which is a service of the Common of

"3. In the adjustment of tariff laws, I would impose such duties upon the importation of luxuries as would produce the most revenue, thereby easting as much of the burden of supporting the government upon the rich as possible.

"4. The prime necessaries of life (which we do not produce in this country, such as tes and coffee) should be admitted free of duty. The free list in this regard should be admitted free of duty. The free list in this regard should be admitted free of duty. The free list in this regard should be arrivals of, and come in competition, with, our own. I would impose such duties as would best protect American labor and products against foreign labor and products.

"6. Upon rival products of our own, which are indispensable in time of war, I would impose a duty with a view to present on an about the desired of the des

and elsewhere who claim to be democratic leaders, but as I obtained this place by no unworthy means, I would scorn to hold it by the sacrifice of that independence of thought and action which should ever distinguish the representative of a free people. A public man who has not firmness enough to act and speak as he thinks right, has hardly virtue enough to deserve a friend, an I certainly not a seat in this great representative body.

distinguish the representative of a free people. A public man who has not firmness enough to act and speak as he thinks right, has hardly virtue enough of grain could be obtained from there, and for what great representative body. of grain could be obtained from there, and for what great representative body.

I come now, Mr. Chairman, to notice the positions of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon which the bill now under consideration is based. He first states that no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the government, economically administered. In this sentiment, I most cheerfully concur. To levy import duties, with a view to distribute them among the States, would be in contravention of the spirit of the constitution. I do not think that it would be expedient for Congress to "regulate commerce" with that view. Nor would it be proper to distribute the proceeds of the public land sales among the States, because it would lead to heart-burnings among our southern brethren, who think it unconstitutional, and with much show of reason; and besides, it might lead to make a single the sale in the Baltic; so that but little can be trought from the form there, and nor what price, &c. Here is his report, which I have obtained from theire, which I have obtained from theire, and tor what price, &c. Here is his report, which I have obtained from theire, which I have obtained from theire, and tor what price, &c. Here is his report, which I have obtained from theire, which I have obtained from theire, shie report, which I have obtained from theire, which I have obtained from theire, shie report, which I have obtained from theire, which I have obtained from theire, shie report, which I have obtained from their shier, shie shier, each of the misses have a little from their price, &c. Here is his report, which the walley of gone from the William all the misses of report and they did not the walle

red. I am for the system which will produce sufficient revenue, and afford protection. An ad valored duty is to be adopted, which will give great protection when it is not wanted, and none when it is reased in England, and 30 per cent. who is the protection when it is reased in England, and 30 per cent. Who is the protection when it is reased in England, and 30 per cent. Who is the protection when it is reased in England, and 30 per cent. Who is the protection when it is reased in England, and 30 per cent. Who is the protection when it is reased in England, and 30 per cent. Who is the protection of the protection when it is reased in England, and 30 per cent. Who is the protection of the protection when it is the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when it is a liberal commercial system and free trade, the protection when the protection wh imposed when brought into this country, the price following appropriate reply—one which we might the article is enhanced to the consumer; whereas, make for the same and stronger reasons:

"They who behold in the reform proposed to the lariament a nomage paid to the theory of absolute-ial liberty are quite mixtaken [Hear hear] In hink that England gives us in this an example wought to eagerly follow, have formed an opinion will consider altogether premature. [Hear, hear] I when she legislates for her commerce, never listens. uon nes run its race; we ought to enter on a course of vancement and of wisely moderate protection; but bey that we ought not to go. [Hear] Let us reserve to; selves the home market, for it will always be found to best. When our productive power shall be as great as a of England, we may act as she is now doing; but suce in what she is attempting is only possible where an mense manufacturing development exists. We, however propose to present next session a bill which will make ve considerable modifications in our, present duties; but shall act with caution, and shall endeavor to conciliate interests. [Hear, hear]

I have thus shown that the people of the grain-

gaged in its manufacture in this country, and thus supplied the market; whereas, if we had depended, as before, on the English supply, the price must necessarily have greatly increased, because English could not furnish a sufficient quantity for the consumption of both countries. And yet almost every speaker from a certain quarter of the Union has something to say against Peansylvania about this duty on coal and iron. Good iron ore is to be found in nearly every State of this Union; and if there is so much money to be made in its manufacture, why is it that other States do not imitate our exampler. The iron establishments which have been erected in Pennsylvania since 1842, pay near \$150,000 per annum in the shape of tolis to that State. Those erected in the county in which I have the honor to reside, paid the State for the transportation of the manufactured a titele alone, the last year, over seven thousand dollars, as I am informed. I say nothing of the grain they consume, the labor they employ, and the money they circulate. This great increase in the iron business has injured no claus of people, and yet it would really seem that it is to be made the subject of complaint against my native State. Sir, it is now become an axiom, that the degree of civilization attained by any nation or people may be teste, by the quantity of iron they manufacture and consume. It is one of the great excessaries of life, and is the great atricle with which we defend ourselves in time of war; and therefore we ought to do as all other civilized nations have done, protect its manufacture. It is more valuable than mines of gold or silver, which only serve to gratify avarice and banish industry. It has been beautifully add, that it "accommodates itself to all our wants, our desires, and even our caprices; it is equally serviceable to the arts, the sciences, to agriculture, and war; the same ore furnishes the sword, the plowshare, the scythe, the pruning hook, the commercial tables do not show it. But even thouse commercial tables do no NUMBER 65. and the bomb; it is a medicine of much virtue, and the only metal friendly to the human frame." I also deny that our commerce has been injured; the commercial tables do not show it. But even though our foreign trade should fall off a little, our internal and coasting trade has greatly increased, which is such more profitable, and employs more of our scople. Gentlemen sught not to complain that certain portions of the Union engaged in manufactures, are enterprising, and thereby prosper. I recommend them to go and do likewise; to do as we do—

> But, it is said that we must reduce the duties, in order to induce larger importations, and thus obtain more revenue to carry on the war with idexico. I do not think that this little matter of war that we have got on hand, with that feeble and distracted nation, should cause a change in our revenue system; but even if it did, a reduction of the duties, experience prover, reduces the revenue. tem; but even if it did, a reduction of the duties, experience proves, reduces the revenue. At the commencement of the last war the duties were doubled, in order to increase the revenue; and now it is proposed to reduce them. During the last year our exports were about tinety millions, and the imports about the same. If imports are greatly increased, what will we pay for them with? According to my calculation, under the reduced scale of duties proposed by the bill now under consideration, we would have to import from fifty to eighty millions more than we did last year in order to get revenue enough to carry on the government, if we had no war expenses. That would cause too neavy a drain upon our specie. I am willing to impose duties upon articles that are now in the free list, to berrow money, or issue treasury notes, in order to push this war to a successful termination, but I do not believe it will be no protracted as to call list to berrow money, or issue treasury notes, in order to push this war to a successful termination; but I do not believe it will be no protracted as to call for any great change in our revenue laws. I would never consent to make it a war of conquest. I would make it a vigorous war, to force a peace, and obtain our just rights; but I would be very careful how I annex territory won by the sword, or incorporate a conquered people, unacquainted with our institutions into our Union. Neither republican nor religious principles are to be propagated at the point of the bayonent. I believe it is a part of the deatiny of this nation to give free institutions to this whole continent; but it must be done by degrees, and by moral suasion. Christianity and republicanism must go hand in band.
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> In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I desire to make a few observations in reply to the unkind allusions which have been made to my native State. Sir, nearly every speaker has had something aneeringly to say about the position which the democracy of that State has always heretofore, and now occupies, upon this question of the tariff. That good old Commonwealth seems to be, in this debate, a little like the man in the frontispiece of the almanac—all

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Commonwealth seems to be, in this debate, a little like the man in the frontispiece of the almanac—all are pointing at him.

The honorable gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Johnson] gravely asked us to come upon the democratic platform. Sir, I would like to know when Pennsylvania has been off that platform, and with what propriety a gentleman calling himself a democrat, from Tennessee, which was whig in 1836, whig in 1840, and whig in the great contest of 1844, can give such an invitation! Charity begins at home; and I therefore suggest to him the propriety of getting his own State into democratic line, in some of the great contests for political power, and then we will listen to him with some degree of, aitention. Why, sir, these States of Tennessee and North Carolina, from whence the distinguished chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, [Mr. McKay.] who has submitted the bill now upon the table, comes, are only in our way when we come to elect a democratic President. And yet these gentlemen now claim to lay down the platform which the democracy of other States must occupy! But it is said we do not, in Pennylvania, belong to the progressive democracy. I do not know what kind of progressive democracy. cupy! But it is said we do not, in Pennsylvania, belong to the progressive democracy. I do not know what kind of progress is meant, without it is the kind which we witness in Tennessee, which is sure to get on the whig side; a kind of crab democracy, that learns "downward to climb and backward to advance." Sir, Pennsylvania is always moderate in pretence, but greatly in demand about election times: then, there is a great deal of lip service: her democracy is not questioned then; but as soon as the smoke of the conflict has evaporated, we see ick as blackberries, to claim the spoils of vic-I would like to ask these gentlemen, who se beyond what is written, and claim to belong to the progressive democracy, whether they are prepared to do without the old-fishioned, Jeffersonian, stone-fence, bee-line democracy of Pennsylvania? "Can the eye say to the hand, I have no

vanur "Can the eye say to the hand, I have no need of thee?"

Sir, we occupy the same position upon this question of the tariff which was occupied by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson; the same position which we have occupied since the organization of the government, and we are not now to be driven from it; and I advise those who desire to obtain or retain political power, to take heed how they trifle with the industrial pursuits of the people of that great State. But we hear a great deal about monopolies, and it is said that we plunder the people of the south under these revenue laws. The only kind of monopoly that I know of is in the public offices under the general government. We very seldom get a President, a Speaker of the House of Representatives, or a chairman of the Committee of